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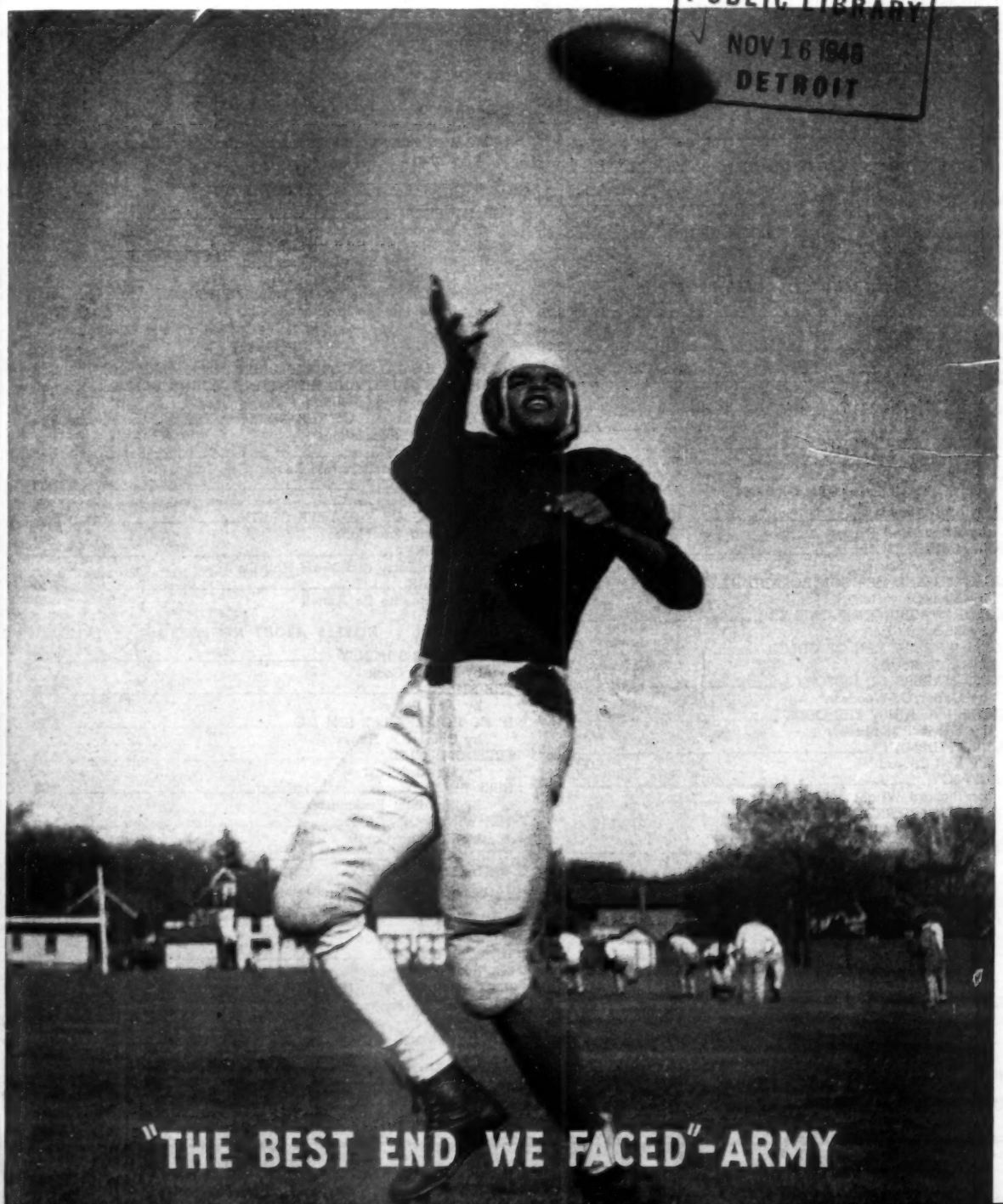

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Vol. 53, No. 11 Whole Number 431

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at* 20 *West* 40*th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

THE COVER shows the brilliant Michigan end, 21-year-old Len Ford, just as he releases a pass. George Trevor in the New York *Sun* of October 16 writes: " . . . Len Ford, Negro end, is the best Army has ever faced, our boys told me. . . . " Ford is a native of Washington, D. C. Photograph by Ech Stanger.

GEORGE PADMORE ("Review of the Paris Peace Conference," page 331) is well-known for his contributions on international affairs to *The Crisis*. He lives in London, England.

ELIOT WAGNER ("An American Artist," page 334), who contributes this story about an excellent musical remnant, lives in New York City.

GLOSTER B. CURRENT ("Suggestions for a 1947 Branch Program," page 337) is the new director of branches for the NAACP. Before taking up his duties in the national office, he was executive secretary of the Detroit, Michigan, branch, one of the largest in the country. Mr. Current has been active in NAACP work since 1936.

MARILYN KAEMMERLE (who reviews *Color Blind* on page 344) is assistant to the executive secretary of Freedom House, New York City. At the time she edited the William and Mary student paper, *B Flat Hat*, she wrote an editorial on the race question, "Lincoln's Job Half Done," which led to a passionate controversy. The bone of contention was Miss Kaemmerle's suggestion that even social equality might be permissible in the future.

ARTHUR E. BURKE (who reviews *High Ground* and *Dew on Jordan*, pages 345-346) frequently reviews books for *The Crisis*. He is assistant professor of English at Hampton Institute, Virginia.

OUR DECEMBER ISSUE will carry James Farmer's "Unsheathing the Consumer Sword," previously scheduled for October.

George F. McCray will have an incisive analysis of the crisis in Jamaican, West Indies, rule.

Eric Walrond has sent us an ironic story along the color line called "By the River Avon."

A piece on the Brandford Studios, the largest firm of Negro commercial artists in the country.

IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES we plan to publish:

A short story, "Rubber Stamp," by Thelma Thurston Gorman

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"Confessions of a Psychoneurotic," a white man's experiences along the color line

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College and School News

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.), oldest institution in the country for the higher education of Negroes, began its 92nd year of continuous existence since its birth in 1854, on September 18, with a total enrollment of 500 students.

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president has announced the appointment of the following new theological faculty members: J. B. Barber, professor of pastoral theology; Dr. E. E. Tilden, New Testament; Dr. Stephen Reynolds, Old Testament and history; Robert McIntire, visiting professor of systematic theology and ecumenics; and Seth W. Hester, instructor in the rural church department.

New college teachers are: Dr. Benjamin Handorf, associate professor of chemistry; Dr. Walter Fales, assistant professor of philosophy; G. H. Butcher, instructor in mathematics; Josiah Cox, instructor in biology; Henry Cornwell, instructor in psychology; Perry Honey, instructor in physical education; and Thomas Jones, instructor in history.

Archie R. Young, eighteen-year-old Lincoln freshman, has received the Coca-Cola company chemistry scholarship in the sum of $500. Administered through the New York Community Trust, the funds are made available for study at Lincoln for the forthcoming year.

Sixth annual All-Institute Conference was held at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE in September on the theme "An Effective Guidance Program for Tuskegee Institute." Among the speakers were Dr. T. Ruth Brett, Lt. Col. William A. Clark, Alonza A. Davis, and Dean I. A. Derbigny.

Mrs. Bettye Steele Turner, a graduate of the institute and a former member of the faculty, received her M.A. degree from Ohio State on August 30.

Fifty-fifth session of DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE opened on September 16 with the largest freshman class in the history of the college. Approximately sixty-nine percent of the freshmen are ex-GIs.

At SHAW UNIVERSITY 750 students have been enrolled. This is 100 more students than were enrolled last year.

Twenty-one additions to the faculty and staff have been announced, bringing the professional staff to a total of seventy-eight persons in the various

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departments and offices of the university.

Summer graduates made a gift of two new radios to the men's and women's wards of the school infirmary.

Ten members of the university faculty attended summer schools for advanced study during the past summer: Lenoir H. Cook, Columbia, languages; Mrs. Rosalie B. Hill, Columbia, French and Spanish; H. L. Irons, Michigan State, bacteriology; E. E. Jones, New York university, physics; Mildred N. Jordan, Pennsylvania, home economics; Thelma C. Nelson, University of Chicago, library science; Devenia V. Pinder, Virginia State, home economics; Rev. William R. Strassner, Union Theological Seminary, theology; Elmo C. Tatum, Columbia, student personnel administration; J. W. Wallace, University of Iowa, English; and Mary Alice Miller, Columbia, art.

At AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE OF NORTH CAROLINA (Greensboro) thirty-six new teachers have been added to the faculty to take care of the influx of new students, most of whom are veterans.

Formal opening of ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE was addressed by Bishop Edwin A. Penick, president of the board of trustees of the college. Bishop Penick extended special greetings to the ex-service men, who comprise more than fifty percent of the total male enrollment. The total enrollment, largest in the history of the college, is expected to exceed 360, with every available space taken.

New faculty members include: Victoria Cordice, music; James A. Boyer, who rejoins the English department; Russell E. Blunt, director of athletics and head of physical education; and William M. Perry, new dean of men.

Sixty-fifth year at MORRISTOWN COLLEGE began on September 9 with the largest enrollment since the construction of its new plant in 1923. New faculty members are: Mrs. Louise Harris, head of music department; James Younge, physical education; Rev. J. Otis Ervin, college pastor; Mrs. Mimmie Telley, director commercial department; A. G. Tippett, dean of college; Mrs. O. R. Meadors, English and physical education; George Easterly, science; and S. A. Cain, head of high-school department.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY announces the following faculty changes and appointments: Dr. Mozell C. Hill, visiting professor in sociology; Dr. Helen Coulborn, English; Mrs. Annette L. Hoage, library science; Arthur D. Burdge, school of business administration; Mrs.

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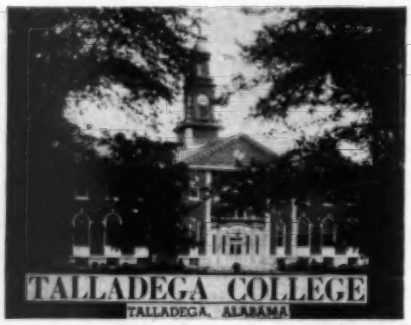
MISS WOINGA WATTS

Recipient of the 1946 $500 scholarship offered by the Asheville, N. C., branch of the NAACP. Miss Watts will attend Knoxville college, where she expects to major in music.



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Allyce C. Johnson, new principal laboratory school; new faculty members, laboratory school: Mrs. Vivian R. Beavers and Mrs. Teretha M. Johnson; university library, Annie B. Mills, Ellene T. Bentlay, and Jennie D. Pritchard.

New appointments to the faculty of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE include: Russell Brooks and John O. Crawford, English; A. C. Banks, history and political science; Essie M. Curtright, Spanish and French; J. Forrest Kelley, assistant physical education; William M. Nix, dormitories; Brennan King, assistant, dormitories; Madrid Turner, sociology; Rev. Samuel W. Williams, religion and sociology; Lawrence E. Yemcey, mathematics.

Beginning its 65th year on September 23, SPELMAN COLLEGE announced the appointment of the following new faculty members: Dr. Cornelia M. Paustian and Myrtle M. Bowers, history; Helen Robinson, chemistry; Eloise Usher, drama; Bernice DeCosta, applied art; Mrs. Leonora Brown, music; Miriam Bowman, language and fine arts; Mrs. Frances M. Franklin, English; and M. Lynette Saine, who returns to the English department after a year's leave of absence.

New director of religion and public relations at the college is Dr. Charles H. Heimsath, since 1931 pastor of the First Baptist church in Evanston, Illinois.

FOUR WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE professors have returned from leaves of

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absence: Thomas E. Posey, head of the department of economics, from the University of Wisconsin; Adolph Hamblin, head of the department of biology, from Ohio State; Frederick Clement, head of the department of physics, and John F. Matheus, head of the department of romance languages, from work with the Coopertaive Haitian-American Committee on Education.

According to an announcement of President John W. Davis, thirty mining students, under the supervision of the college's Mining Extension Service, received foreman and fireboss certificates. The certificates were granted as a result of examinations conducted by the State Department of Mines.

Wallace A. Battle, layman of many years' service to the Episcopal church as head of OKOLONA INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, 1923-27, and field secretary of the American Church Institute for Negroes, 1930-40, died on September 6 in Wyndom Center Hospital, Conn. He is survived by his wife, a son, and three married daughters.

CLARK COLLEGE opened its 77th year on September 23 with its facilities crowded to capacity. New faculty appoints are: Charles Hamilton, dean of men; Mrs. Phoebe Fraser Burney, dean of women; John F. Summersette, director of publicity and instructor in English; Mrs. Mary Shute Fitzgerald, French; Jacqueline Denny, home economics; Virginia Henderson, physical education; Alfred L. Stevenson and Mrs. Eva Hayes, education; Charles K. Hayes, social science; Grant S. Schockley, director of religious life; Barbara Taylor, secretary to the dean; Mrs. Clara S. Lowe, secretary to the business manager; Mrs. Alix Coleman, postmistress; George Allen, manager book store; Frank A. Banks, head department biology; Homer C. Williams, photography and audio-visual educa-

(Continued on page 346)

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Editorials

First Round Won

THE first victory has been won in a trial that should never have taken place in the beginning. A jury in Lawrenceburg, Tenn., acquitted 23 of the 25 defendants accused of assault with intent to commit murder in connection with the non-fatal shooting of four policemen in Columbia, Tenn., last February. Two of the colored defendants were sentenced to not more than 21 years of imprisonment. Their conviction will be appealed by NAACP attorneys.

This verdict, surprising and gratifying as it is, by no means ends the case in Tennessee. These same defendants are under indictment for several other "crimes" and must be tried unless the indictments are quashed.

In the long experience of the NAACP in the deepest, darkest, and most hostile parts of the South, no bona fide trial had taken on the farcical and blatantly, arrogantly prejudiced manner of the court at Lawrenceburg. The Scottsboro trials, even with the inflammable charge of rape across the color line, were several notches above the court at Lawrenceburg. No evidence whatsoever was presented which connected any of the defendants with the actual shooting of the policemen. As Vincent Sheean pointed out, the theory of "collective guilt" was applied —the same theory used by the Nazis in killing off the entire population of the village of Lidice and destroying the village itself completely. A Nazi had been shot: the whole village, down to the youngest baby, paid.

Just as the public should understand that these acquittals do not end the case, so it should be made to realize, also, that the verdict makes no fundamental change in the racial attitudes of Tennessee. Lawrenceburg still does not permit Negroes to live in the town. There is no place in it where a Negro may eat, or rest overnight, or even use a toilet. During the trial food had to be brought in from Columbia each day for the defendants and the defense lawyers. The lawyers had to drive 75 miles night and morning, to and from Nashville, where they stayed up half the night planning their next moves. One theory holds that the jury brought in the partial acquittal because the people of Lawrenceburg bitterly resented the change of venue from Columbia and determined that it would not "do Columbia's dirty work," meaning by that not the "dirty work" of an unfair conviction, but the bother of having to hold the trial at all.

Too much praise cannot go to Dr. Leon A. Ransom, Maurice Weaver, and Z. Alexander Looby, the NAACP attorneys, who waged a skillful and courageous fight under the most trying conditions, in a frankly hostile atmosphere, and against the most discouraging odds within the courtroom itself ever faced by attorneys in the South.

The tragic fact is that the courtroom hysterics at Lawrenceburg, rather than the verdict, represent the 1946 atmosphere faced by Negro Americans in Tennessee and many other parts of the South.

A New Labor Victory

A UNITED STATES District Court in Virginia has ordered the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen to cease enforcing a collective bargaining agreement with the Norfolk and Southern Railroad by which Negro firemen are barred from promotion and from assignment to favorable runs, solely because of their race.

Judge Sterling Hutcheson ruled that Tom Tunstall, a Negro fireman, must be restored to his run on a passenger engine from which he had been taken in 1941 by the Railroad and the Brotherhood because he was not white. The important part of this far-reaching decision enjoined the Brotherhood from (a) recognizing or enforcing the agreement it made in February, 1941, with the Railroad, barring the promotion of Negro firemen; and (b) acting as Tunstall's representative or the representative of other colored firemen under the Railway Labor Act "so long as it refuses to represent him and them fairly and impartially."

It is a matter of general knowledge that this backward-looking union has been seeking to eliminate Negroes entirely from work as firemen. The FEPC Hearing in September, 1944, established clearly that the Brotherhood had entered into agreements with Southern railroads to withhold promotions from Negroes and to freeze them out of employment altogether. Judge Hutcheson's decision will be appealed by the Brotherhood, but if it stands up in the higher courts a wickedly unfair practice will have been outlawed and the railway Brotherhoods, never friendly to Negroes, will be forced to reconsider their policy of keeping Colored workers from earning an honest living.

BRANCH NEWS

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Not Far Enough

THE verdict in the Nuremberg trials have been hailed generally (except by Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio) as a forward step in civilization. It has now been determined that conspiracy to wage aggressive war is a crime against mankind. It was also determined that crimes against humanity in connection with the waging of aggressive warfare are punishable under the new international law established at Nuremberg.

This last doctrine, while commendable, does not go as far as many of the world's minorities would have liked in defining guilt and punishment for crimes against humanity. Under it, the Jews of Europe had not been virtually wiped out as a part of aggressive warfare against other nations, no guilt would have been attached to Germany and no trial could have been had before a world court.

It is thus possible for any nation to grievously mistreat any minority within its borders without fear of punishment before a world tribunal, so long as that mistreatment is not a part of warfare against another nation. The Union of South Africa may shoot, burn, hang, starve, and otherwise torture its natives without official interference from other nations. Poland may now, if it so chooses, herd Jews into concentration camps and kill them in any manner whatsoever, suffering no punishment except such indignant resolutions as may be passed in mass meetings over the world. America may continue to mistreat its Negro minority without being haled before any world court.

Since the Nuremberg Trials went only part way, the next hope of the minorities lies in the United Nations, where through, long and painful argument, devious and delaying committee action, and political power trading it may be possible to establish and correct some of the crimes against minority and so-called backward peoples.

The acquitted defendants and a scene in the Lawrenceburg courtroom during the trial.

Tennessee Trial

ALTHOUGH 23 of the 25 Negro defendants accused of attempted murder were acquitted October 4, by an all-white jury in Lawrenceburg, Tenn., the shouts of rejoicing were premature.

The sobering facts are: (a) two more defendants, separated from the 25 on a technicality, are still to be tried on the same charge of attempted murder; (b) they are also under indictment on a charge of assault with intent to kill; (c) all defendants are also under indictment on lesser charges; (d) the two men convicted and sentenced to not more than 21 years in prison must have their cases appealed to higher courts.

Thus the only rejoicing must be over the fact that the *first* hurdle has been taken. There is still a long, weary way to go.

Said Dr. Leon A. Ransom, one of the three NAACP attorneys in the case: "I am a bit concerned over expressions of jubilation over the Lawrenceburg verdict. I am afraid that many people are of the opinion that this case is finished. Nothing could be farther from the truth."

Defendants Partially Free

For the defendants acquitted it was a great day, but outwardly no different from the other days. Each day of the long trial they had been coming to the courtroom from their homes in Columbia, 34 miles distant. Each night they returned to their homes, being free on bail. On the day of acquittal they followed their same routine. They now go about their business in Columbia awaiting the next legal moves in the case.

Columbia is quiet. There is no more racial tension than usual. The trial is not discussed. The colored people of Columbia are confident that in the long pull they will win. They have this confidence in spite of (or, perhaps, because of) the fact that the trial just completed in Lawrenceburg was one of the most fantastic ever held in an American courtroom.

Trial Unwelcome

The town of Lawrenceburg did not want the trial in the first place. It was thrust upon the community by a change of venue granted in Columbia where the trouble occurred last February. Lawrenceburg business men and citizens generally held that they did not want to "wash Columbia's dirty linen." Lawrenceburg said it had "solved" its Negro problem by excluding Negroes from the town; now Columbia had had an interracial scrap and wanted to dump it in the lap of Lawrenceburg to be settled.

In this atmosphere the first legal skirmishes were held, with the defense lawyers, two colored and one white, being overruled and insulted on every point. In this atmosphere the selection of the jury began. It took five weeks. White veniremen paraded to the witness stand and asserted they were prejudiced, that they would take the word of a white man over that of a Negro, that they would not give a Negro a fair trial in a dispute with a white man. Defense counsel became so searching with their questions (searching, that is, to the locality, but in reality asking only the routine questions anyone would ask) that Judge Joe Ingram finally astounded the court and the public by announcing that he would take over the questioning of jurors.

The Battle for a Jury

Typical of the examination of prospective jurors was that of Albert Patterson, former boss of a chain gang. Patterson testified that he would believe a white man before he would a colored man. Ransom asked Judge Ingram to excuse Patterson for cause. Ingram turned to Bumpus who declared Patterson was qualified. The judge upheld Bumpus. Under further questioning Patterson said:

"I worked a lot of colored men on the chain gang six years ago when I was a guard.

"The only colored people I ever dealt with were either criminals or criminally inclined."

"Do you think all Negroes are criminally inclined?" asked Ransom.

"Yes," replied Patterson.

Ransom again moved to challenge Patterson for cause, but was overruled by Judge Ingram. The defense was compelled to eliminate Patterson with a peremtory challenge.

The court also forbade defense attorneys to ask questions of prospective jurors on their membership in the Ku Klux Klan.

Judge vs. Defendants

From this point on the defense attorneys had to battle in a courtroom hostile to them personally as well as to the defendants. Maurice Weaver, the white NAACP attorney whose home is in Chattanooga, was the chief target of District Attorney Paul F. Bumpus, and his assistant prosecutor. Weaver to them was a traitor to the white race. Z. Alexander Looby, with his kindly voice, his sharp logic, his sarcasm and dry wit, and his fascinating West Indian accent drew many heated attacks from the red-faced prosecutors. As for Dr. Leon A. Ransom, his clear superiority as a lawyer, a strategist, and student of law, infuriated the opposition.

Bumpus used outrageous language in the courtroom. He threatened to "wrap a chair around his head"—meaning Ransom. He challenged Weaver to come outside the courtroom and fight. He called one defense attorney a sonofabitch in open court. Toward the end of the trial he turned purple language on Vincent Sheean who sat at the press table, whose syndicated articles on the trial enraged both Bumpus and Lynn Bomar, head of the state police. When Weaver asked Judge Ingram if he was going to permit such an attack in his court without rebuke, Ingram replied that it was a matter between Bumpus and Sheean!

A high point, illustrating not only the atmosphere in the courtroom, but the manner in which these defendants had been arrested, occurred during the testimony of Lynn Bomar, head of the state highway patrol. Bomar admitted on the stand that he had led state troopers into the homes of Columbia Negro citizens without a search warrant.

Q. Did you get Morton's permission to enter and search?

A. I just went right in.

Q. (By the court) Was the door open when you entered the house? Did you turn the knob?

A. I turned the knob and walked right in.

Q. Did anybody object?

A. I didn't wait to see. I knew a felony had been committed and I went in to get the guilty parties.

Bomar roared a denial when asked whether his men had ransacked and wrecked Negro property. Later he said he would enter Negro property again without a warrant if he wanted to do so.

Gloom Before Victory

In this atmosphere the trial dragged on. No defendant was identified as having fired a shot at the policemen who were wounded. In no manner whatsoever were any of the defendants connected with the crime except that one witness said she had walked with one of the defendants who had told her he was in Columbia on the night of the trouble. Mere presence in the town where the shooting had occurred thus became "proof" of guilt!

The defendants told their stories, and then came the summing up to the jury. District Attorney Bumpus and his assistant performed as was expected. The Vincent Sheean articles syudicated in daily papers throughout the country had roused the ire of Bumpus. He ranted at outsiders and newspaper writers. He raved about white supremacy. He called for the conviction of all 25 defendants

On the speeches of the three defense lawyers to the jury, Sheean offers this description:

> The three lawyers were excellent, each in a different way. Andy Ransom made the argument of reason and courtesy and common sense—deliberately appealing to those qualities in the jury, I mean. His was the first argument for the defense and had the effect (I believe) of reasonableness, the evocation of reasonableness. Then Weaver made his rather fiery speech, which could *not* have been made under the conditions by any Negro; he established the analogies to Nazi practise and made the appeal to historical conscience ("You are making history in this courtroom"). Then Looby made his searching appeal to their religious instincts. He had varicose veins badly and had to speak from a seated position with his right leg upon a cushion arrangement in front of him. His voice was better than it had been before, his manner and language simple, his argument less studded with legal authority than I had expected. His essential argument was of a purely religious nature and it was my impression that it reached home with that jury.

Victory—Why?

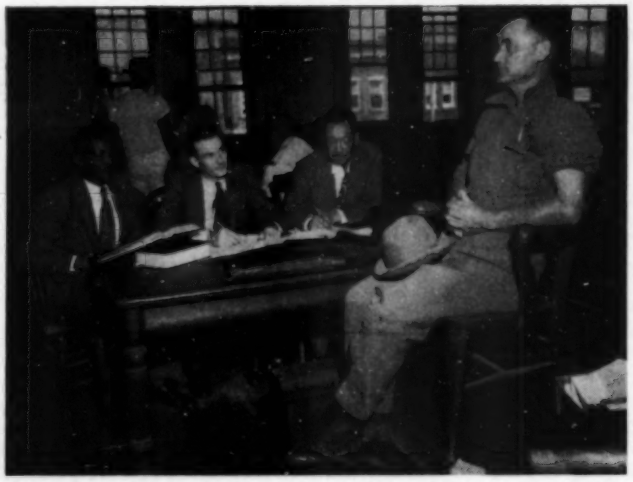
Why was the suprising verdict rendered? No one will know unless the jurors themselves tell their reasons. Was this the way Lawrenceburg had of showing Columbia how distasteful the trial was—if you want these Negroes convicted you will have to do it yourself?

Did Bumpus and Judge Ingram over play their hands? Did the judge muzzle the defense lawyers so obviously and so continuously and so unfairly that even those Tennessee jurymen thought the Negroes were not getting a fair shake? Did Paul Bumpus stress the white supremacy argument too much even for rural Tennessee?

Did the defense lawyers by their courage, their brilliance, and their persistence under handicaps and discouragements capture the sporting fancy of the jury? Did the jury really mean to indicate that the South was ready to change its attitude and that hereafter Negroes could expect a fair deal?

The Optimists have seen a "new day" in the verdict, a sign that democracy is here for the Negro in the rural South. The cynics say the jury was just trying to wash its hands quickly of the Columbia "dirt." But the truth would seem to be somewhere in between. The first round has been won. It may be that its winning will cause the state to drop all charges and close the book on the shameful chapter of the Columbia disturbance of last winter. Or, angered by the acquittal, the District Attorney Bumpus may continue his fight. The defendants, their lawyers, and his thousands of Americans who contributed to the defense fund, await the next move.

—R. W.



NAACP attorneys, L to R, Looby, Weaver, and Ransome questioning a venireman.

The two convicted defendants, John McKivens and Robert Gentry, were granted a new trial on October 26 by Circuit Judge Joe M. Ingram, who declared he was not satisfied with the evidence presented against them. The motion for a new trial was granted by Judge Ingram only ten minutes after it was presented by NAACP attorneys.

Review of the Paris Peace Conference

By George Padmore

The real issue at Paris was not peace but power political maneuvering between the Western and Eastern blocs for future control of the world. "At Paris there was neither idealism nor morality" as this illuminating analysis of the issues by an on-the-spot observer makes clear

THE present Paris Peace conference presents some similarities with like convocations of the past, as well as some fundamental departures. At the Paris conference of 1815, which marked the downfall of Napoleon, France, the defeated power, was represented at discussions and framing of the treaties by Talleyrand.

There was a studied purpose in thus drawing France into the comity of Europe, which was to restore as much as possible of the pre-Napoleonic regime. The Paris conference of 1918 which drew up the peace after the First World War was primarily concerned with the settlement of Germany, but the defeated power was excluded from discussion of the treaty terms, despite the Wilsonian slogan of "open diplomacy openly arrived at." Britain, France and America imposed their dictated terms upon the successors of the Hohenzollerns and, at the same time, linked up the Treaty of Versailles with the League of Nations, the organization which was to guarantee world peace, and which came into being simultaneously.

While there were certain differences between Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson, the chief architects of Versailles, there was fundamental agreement among them to prevent revival of German militarism, which offered a threat to their imperialisms. Having, then, completed the settlement of Germany, the main enemy, it was relatively simple for the Allies to impose treaties upon Germany's satellites. The Peace of St. Germain in September, 1919, settled the agreement with Austria, the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary in June, 1920, and the Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey in August, 1920, although this last treaty remained unratified. Settlement with Bulgaria was made under the Treaty of Neuilly in November, 1919.

Procedure Reversed

At the present conference the procedure has been reversed, simply because the victorious powers are unable to arrive at any agreement on the German question which, today, just as twenty-seven years ago, is the key to peace or war. The reason for this impasse lies in the fundamental cleavage between the Anglo-American powers and the Soviet Union, which, for the first time since the Russian Revolution, has been drawn into the vortex of European power politics, filling the vacuum created by the elimination of Germany. The tense economic, polical and ideological clash of interests between the Great Powers prevents any agreement on the settlement of Germany, even a year after the capitulation of the Nazi regime. In order, therefore, to break the deadlock the Council of Foreign Ministers, which was charged with preparing the draft treaties and the whole machinery of peace-making, was forced to start with secondary questions.

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Premier-president George Bidault of France, host to the conference.

And even in this compromise approach from the periphery to the centre, they have discarded from the agenda of the present conference an important peripheral question, namely, the distribution of Italian colonies in Africa. After the first World War, the question of Germany's and Turkey's colonies was settled as part of the Versailles treaty by the simple procedure of annexing them under the camouflage of mandates. The Foreign Ministers Council did attempt to settle the Italian colonial question under a system of trusteeship, the new euphemism for colonial annexation. But the intrusion of Russia's claim for a place in the African sun, in the form of a trusteeship over Cyrenaica, so alarmed Mr. Bevin that this new custodian of British imperial interests declared that it would cut the British throat. Hence the whole colonial question has been deleted from the Paris agenda.

It took eleven months of laborious and discutive work for the Big Four foreign ministers and their deputies to arrive at the draft treaties which the conference is discussing, and they therefore represent a finely balanced compromise which, if upset, can only result in deadlock. In a sense the compromise was forced upon the Big Powers by the pressure of world public opinion, which was becoming restive at the long delay and the urgency of the need to resolve the chaos reigning in Europe. Unable to attack the German problem because of their basic differences, they resorted to the line of least resistance by beginning with the secondary question of Germany's satellites.

The present conference is only dealing with the treaties with the ex-enemy countries, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland. It is assumed that the settlement with Japan and Germany and the question of the Italian colonies will engage other gatherings, so that the assembly now meeting in Paris can really be regarded as the first of a series of peace conferences.

Having, for the purpose of the Paris conference, achieved a compromise, the

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The United States delegation occupies the front row in the chamber of the Luxemborg Palace, scene of the Paris peace conference. L. to R., Secretary of State James Byrnes; Jefferson Caffery, ambassador to England; William Clayton, assistant secretary of state; Ben Cohen, special assistant to the secretary of state; W. B. Smith, ambassador to Russia; and Averill Harriman, former ambassador to England. American foreign policy is being determined and executed by James Byrnes, the country lawyer from Spartanburg, S. C., who believes in free democratic elections in Bulgaria, but not in his native South Carolina.

Big Four were committed to steering through their draft treaties, and in order to guarantee this they had agreed upon the principle of a two-thirds majority vote. They then decided to invite the seventeen small states who had given "substantial military support in the war," and the Western Powers were obliged, because of their lip service to the principle of democracy, to commit themselves to the methods of open diplomacy. Some of the small powers, desirous of making themselves heard, took these principles literally and projected their views strongly.

Dr. Evatt of the Australian delegation, undoubtedly an ambitious man, was determined, in the absence of Mr. Bevin, to secure the limelight. He accordingly proposed that amendments securing a simple majority vote should have the same value as those receiving a two-thirds majority. The Soviet Union delegation, anxious to maintain the compromise which the Foreign Ministers Council had achieved at such great pains, stood intransigently for the two-thirds majority vote, and the whole question at once revealed a division at the conference into a Western and Eastern bloc. Since the majority of the states represented operate within the Western bloc, if decisions were to be based upon a simple majority, it is primary arithemetic to see that the Soviets would always be in a minority and could never, as in a parliamentary constituency, hope to become a majority.

Mr. Hector MacNeil, who was deputising for Mr. Bevin, and Mr. Byrnes, who had committed themselves beforehand to the two-thirds majority, could not, however, turn against Mr. Evatt and his Dutch supporters and put them in their place, in view of their also being committed to democratic procedure. Mr. Molotov and Mr. Vyshinsky, however, were not limited by such considerations and they pressed their view strenuously. It seemed as though there would be a head-on clash, so the British delegation, recognizing the dangers in the situation, came forward with their compromise that amendments securing a simple majority should go forward for consideration, while those with a two-thirds majority should get *serious* consideration.

This struggle in the plenary sessions over voting left its heritage of suspicion among the Russians, who are in any event always suspicious of the motives of the Western Powers. They believe that the Anglo-American powers were ready to double-cross them and that they had put Dr. Evatt up to the maneuver. Knowing that no small state within their orbit could behave in such a fashion, it was natural for the Russians to assume that the latitude taken by Dr. Evatt could only have been with Anglo-American consent, and they turned their big guns upon the Australians.

Much time, it was generally felt, had been wasted over a trifle, as in the ultimate result it will be the Big Four Ministers Council which will have the final word on the treaty drafts. Dr. Mackenzie King, leader of the Canadian delegation, had from the beginning emphasized that the peace rests upon the Big Four and that the small states should be sensible of their limitations. It was largely as a result of his insistence that the successful conclusion of the conference would only be achieved by the harmonious working together of the Big Four that Mr. Bevin took the initiative in the fifth week of the conference of convening a meeting between the Foreign Ministers. This was an endeavor to extricate themselves from the mess in which they had entangled themselves during the preceding weeks and to give guidance to the conference. By that time, Dr. Evatt, having done his best to torpedo the conference, had packed off to Australia, leaving his colleagues, Dr. Walker, Mr. Beasley and Colonel Hodgson, to carry on a rear-guard action in the territorial and reparations commissions.

More Democratic than Versailles

With all the shortcomings of the present conference, however, its limitations and power political maneuverings, one must edmit that in its structure and procedural methods it is certainly more democratic than that of the Paris conference of 1918. The small states associated with the Big Four have been invited and allowed to air their views, both in the plenary sessions and commissions, while the ex-enemy countries have also been provided with an opportuntiy to make statements in plenary session on the draft treaties. All the proceedings have been duly reported in the press. Twenty-seven years

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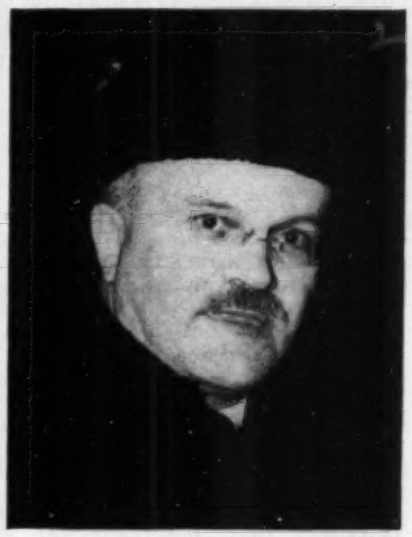
Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Australian minister for external affairs, after "having done his best to torpedo the conference," packed off to Australia.



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Russian foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov, at the closing session, denounced the conference results in stinging terms.

ago this state of things would not have been tolerated. Lloyd George and Clemenceau would turn in their graves at the thought that ex-enemy states were allowed to come and publicly express their opinions upon their treaties. And as for the Press, they were fed upon official handouts!

It is in this sense that the conference has satisfied the idea of "open diplomacy openly arrived at." In fact, it is thought by many observers that it has even been carried too far. Photographers' bulbs flashed all the way through plenary sessions and speakers reacted until the atmosphere was like that of Hollywood. It was also the very public nature of the meetings which gave rise to so much recrimination and bickering, for delegates were addressing their people back home as much as the assembly. Many commentators went so far as to say that the method of procedure was giving an unfair advantage to the Russians, who, practiced in the art, used the conference as a platform to propagandise against the Anglo-Saxons. This was particularly obvious in Mr. Molotov's warning to Italy, and to France, not to allow themselves to become the economic slaves of Anglo-American imperialism.

Among the most controversial issues in the treaties are those of minorities and reparations, both of which are inextricably bound up with the economic and strategic aims of the Big Four. It is absurd to think that an imperialist war can finish in a non-imperialist peace. If the finish of the war had seen the establishment of socialist regimes in all the countries of Europe, then the Soviet Union could have afforded to enjoin a peace with "no idemnities and no annexations." But the Soviet Union finds itself vis-a-vis the great capitalist Colossus, America, which, with the willing support of Britain and her satellites, is trying hard to resuscitate capitalists regimes in Europe. Towards this objective they are seeking out and backing those pro-capitalist elements who are not hopelessly compromised as collaborationists, but were to some degree associated with the resistance movements, like Bidault in France, for instance.

These elements are mainly to be found among the Catholic, so-called "democratic" parties, which have popular support. This factor, therefore, brings the American and British foreign offices into close association with the Vatican, whether they wish it or not. And since the capitalist elements see in the mass Catholic movements their best means of entrenching themselves, they give them their financial support, which also links the Vatican with big business. This is exactly what is happening in France now in relation to the M. R. P. [Popular Republican Movement], and is also the position in Austria, where outside of the Socialist kernel in Vienna, the population has always been overwhelmingly Catholic and gave its support to right-wing governments from Dolfuss to Schuschnigg, and even up to Hitler.

Doutbless the Soviet Union has fixed its reparations in relation to the support which it expects from the new governments established in the ex-enemy countries, while the Americans maintain that the economic treaties which Russia has already signed with Hungary and Rumania are designed to keep them out of the Danubian countries. Mr. Brynes has raised considerable opposition to these arrangements, and has noisily debated for the right of the United States to operate their traditional economic imperialism in the countries of eastern and central Europe in the form of the "open door" policy. And it is significant to note that American big business aspirations so blatantly voiced by Mr. Brynes at the Paris conference have the strong endorsement of the British Labor Government, which, in its domestic policy, is pledged to the abolition of trusts, cartels and monopolies, the powerful economic influences behind America's forgein policy.

Untrammelled Capitalism

It is understandable that America, wedded to untrammelled capitalism, should fight vigorously for the right to have access to the raw materials (especially oil) and the markets of eastern and central Europe. Mr. Molotov, however, has made it clear on more than one occasion that Soviet Russia is determined to protect the territories which have come within her sphere of interest from falling under the influence of American or British monopoly-capital, which looks to the opposition groups in those countries as their potential allies. Without such external support from the West, it is inconceivable that those elements opposed to the regimes now functioning under Soviet patronage could sufficiently reassert themselves as to revive the pre-war economic *status quo*. The Soviet Union sees that the new democracies painfully emerging in these defeated countries can only consolidate themselves if their economic systems operate on the basis of a planned economy, reinforced by agrarian reforms which share-up the large landed estates among the peasants.

To carry out such a program, the governments of these countries must encroach not merely upon the property of their own nationals, but of necessity more especially upon that of American and British interests, who largely controlled the basic resources, such as oil in Rumania. It is to recover the rights of American trusts and cartels in these properties that Mr. Brynes has so passionately raised the claim to the "open door" policy in the Danubian region. He has stigmatised the Russians for what he calls their excessive reparations demands from the enemy countries, which he asserts are heavier than the American claims for the restoration of damaged property in the

(Continued on page 347)

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Foreign minister Ernest Bevin of England shows no more eagerness to liquidate the Empire than Winston Churchill.

An American Artist

By Eliot L. Wagner

"CHARLIE GENTLE is dead," said Al Corcoran.

We were at Whelan's counter, sipping coffee. Outside it was dawn. The night had passed quickly. We'd been playing jazz music the way we like it. Al is a trombonist; I play the drums.

Al had been glancing through the pages of the *Jazz Journal*, idly, over his coffee. When he reached the notice, he sat up, alert, and read to me: "Charlie Gentle, it is reported, was given a pauper's burial in Athens, Louisiana. In his prime, Gentle was said to rank with Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, and Bunk Johnson. However, he never came North, and when New Orleans faded as the jazz capital of the world, he dropped out of sight. . . ."

We exchanged glances.

"You played in a band with him, remember?" said Al. "That was five years ago, wasn't it? With Morison, O'Neil. They're gone, too. You're the only one left. What happened down there among the Southern Nations? You never told me."

His last remarks were accompanied by a smile, which, like his voice, was strained. He turned his handsome, lightbrown face, and fixed his eyes on me. I knew him so well! We'd been friends for twenty-five years, beginning in college; before each of us married, we roomed together. . . . I could see that this time he was determined to get the details out of me, to make me confess he was right.

I blew at my coffee, and drank, not answering.

"How did it work out You never said," he insisted.

He had been born in Alabama and had lived in the South until he was fifteen. He wanted me to confirm his hatred.

"I've told you time after time how it worked out, Al," I said.

He placed his hand on my shoulder. "No," he replied. "You told me the outcome. That could have happened in a number of different ways. But how *did* it happen? That's what I want to know!"

All this, because he felt like saying I told you so.

Five years ago, George Morison, pianist and jazz connoisseur, asked me to go to Louisiana with him. He hoped to make some recordings there of the trumpet-playing of Charles Gentle. Morison had searched long for him, and finally located him through an exchange of letters. Gentle wrote from a New Orleans saloon where he worked as porter. It was then that Morison came to me, elated. He wanted a good rhythm background for the projected recordings. He told me that I was the best drummer in the business and that, as his old friend, I couldn't refuse him.

Charlie Gentle had been dead for five years—waiting for his burial. That's what Charlie told Morison.

Johnny Lettman and his trumpet.

I should mention that Morison was well-fixed. In the twenties, at Yale, he became a jazz convert. He learned to play the piano well, and made a career of it—arranging tours for jazzmen, recording them, getting them jobs. Now he's dead, too, and we musicians have missed him.

But at the time I had a contract pending with Tommy Fenton's big band. Morison implored me to wait: the trip would take only a few weeks.

Al Corcoran, meanwhile, was advising me not to go.

"Gentle is old," he said. "Remember that a black man ages ahead of his years down there. I know. I was grownup at twelve. It won't do you or Gentle any good if you go. I'm telling you. Sign your contract, while you still have one to sign."

But I owed Morison many favors from the past. I agreed to go with him. Besides, I didn't think it would be as tough as Al claimed.

When we reached New Orleans, we went at once to the Bienville Street ginmill where, according to his letter, Gentle was working. The place turned out to be a replica of a cellar nightclub in Harlem, where I sometimes played after hours. We ordered a couple of collinses at the bar. While he made them, the Negro bartender told me that the owner,—who, as we found out, was white,—made frequent trips to New York in order to keep up with the latest Harlem effects.

But when I asked him if Gentle was around, his face froze immediately. He looked suspiciously from me to Morison, and said, "That man don't work here no more."

"Where is he?" Morison inquired.

The bartender shook his head, and kept his mouth shut.

"Does anyone know where he might be?" I asked.

The bartender stared, and began to wipe a glass.

"What do we owe you," said Morison.

"Seventy cents."

Morison placed two singles on the bar. "There must be someone here who'd know about him."

The bartender put his hand over the bills.

"The manager might know somethin', I can't tell . . ."

The manager was a tall, stringy man, about fifty. He had a slightly jaundiced complexion. He smiled at Morison's question. His mouth was tight and his false teeth glittered. His face looked like a mummy's head.

"Sure," he said, leaning, legs straddled, against the bar. "I'll tell you where that S.O.B. went. What I can't tell you is if he ever got there." He cackled. "So he's finally being caught up with. He ain't got a good bone in his body—that drunken nigger."

"You sure you're talking about the same man we are?" asked Morison.

The manager waved his head up and down. "Positive. I know your man all

right. Gentle. Charlie Gentle. Well, when I fired him out of here, I heard him tell one of the porters he was goin' back to his woman at Athens. That's about fifty miles north. I got rid of him six weeks ago, so there's a chance, just a chance, he might be there by now." He cackled again.

We finished our drinks, and turned to leave. The man touched Morison's elbow.

"Just a minute, boys," he said. "Out of curiosity. You don't have to tell me if you don't want to. But are you the county police, or federal men?"

In Athens, the next morning, the counterman at the local lunchwagon knew of Gentle. We could find him working for Lebowitz, the tailor, a few yards along the street.

Lebowitz was hunched over his sewing machine. He had a crop of dry, dishevelled hair, with a bald spot on the top of his head. He peered up at us over pale shell glasses. In the rear of the store was Gentle, the legendary trumpeter, pressing somebody's pants.

"We'd like to speak to Charlie Gentle," Morison said.

"He's busy," snapped the tailor.

"We won't keep him long," I said.

Lebowitz rose, removed his glasses, and wiped his forehead. "I guess you got a warrant for him?"

"Look," I said. "Isn't it possible for someone to ask for someone else without being taken for a cop?"

"No, mister," Lebowitz answered in a dry voice. "Not two white men looking for a black man."

Morison handed Lebowitz the letter from Gentle; he read it, and shrugged. "So what? What do you want from him?"

"We want to get him off the iron and on the horn," I said.

Lebowitz's tone changed; he replied in a low, tremulous voice. "Listen, mister, you ain't coming here on my time and taking my presser away. I'm doing that man a favor keeping him here. You lay off him. They fired him off his last job in The City. He was drunk a week. He don't know what he done during that week. He don't remember how he got back here to his wife. She asked me to give him a job. It happened my presser left. I took him in. He couldn't eat no food. He didn't have a tooth in his mouth. I laid out money for him to get teeth made. Lay off him. He ain't been hitting the bottle like he used to. Go back to New York."

We disregarded his advice and waited in a saloon across the street until six o'clock, when Gentle was free, We overtook him on the street, and stopped him. He regarded us calmly, with the resignation of one familiar with everything adversity had to offer.

"Yes suh, I'm Charles Gentle," he said. It sounded like a confession.

George introduced himself and me, and referred to the letter. In it, Gentle mentioned among other things that he hadn't been playing professionally for some time, that he wished he could play again, and that if Morison ever came to New Orleans, he certainly would like to be looked up.

"Did you get your trumpet back, Mr. Gentle?" Morison asked.

"Trumpet?" repeated Gentle. He smiled, as if Morison had cracked a joke he didn't understand. His mouth was sunken. He had no teeth.

"Yes," said Morison. "Didn't you get the last letter I sent you, with the check?"

Gentle ran his hand over the closely shaved grey stubble on his head. I can't remember no letter after the one I answered, but you might of sent one. I had a big drunk on down in The City. I must of got the money for it somewhere. Maybe I did get a check." He looked at the ground, shaking his head, as if the key to his memory had been dropped somewhere on the sidewalk.

"Well, it doesn't matter," said Morison. "We can drive back to New Orleans and get your trumpet out of hock. Do you know where we can get a good clarinettist, and maybe a good trombonist?"

"There ain't many good men left in The City. You gentlemen startin' a band?"

"No," I said. "You don't understand. We've come here to make some records with you, and we'd want the other men to fill out the group."

Gentle moved his head slowly from side to side. "I'm sorry, gentlemen, but you got it wrong somewhere. I ain't blowed a horn in five years. That's when I hocked my horn, five years ago. My teeth got rotten, and I wasn't making the money to get them fixed. I lost my bite. You can't expect a horn man to do nothin' without a bite. Course, I got store teeth now." He extracted an envelop from his pocket, and showed us a gleaming set of false teeth. "Mr. Lebowitz loaned me the money for these. He done it as a favor to my missus. He takes a little out of my wages every week, but it's worth it. I can eat solid food now, and chew on it. Course, it's a little uncomfortable. I ain't used to them yet."

Morison looked at me. The whole trip had been a waste of time. We had assumed, without basis, that even if Gentle wasn't working at music, he would be playing his trumpet on the side. Now, recording was out of the question. A wind instrument requires constant practice and a strong, supple lip.

Morison put his arm around Gentle's shoulders. "We have a car here. Can we drive you home?"

We rode in silence for the five minutes it took us to reach the shanty where Gentle and his wife lived. The late afternoon sun fell obliquely on the roof, and cast a triangle of light on the wall and part of the porch. There was no sidewalk or pavement. Three steps descended from the porch to a dirt road which was lined with grey frame houses, like Gentle's. The automobile attracted a group of children, who stood at a distance, watching.

Morison said, "Mr. Gentle, will you do me a favor and try the horn again?"

"I used to play a good stomp horn," Gentle answered reflectively. "I guess I would do if I got my lip back. Trouble is, I promised the missus I'd stick to my job, and not wander round no more. She a . . . well, she put up with a lot, and I wouldn't want to cross her no more."

"Can we talk it over with her?" asked Morison.

Gentle nodded. "Yeah. Sure."

He didn't let us into his house, but called his wife, instead, to the porch. She was a dark, sullen woman, with sunken cheeks and deep hollows under her eyes. Morison explained to her that we wanted Gentle to play again. He'd have to leave his job to do so, but Morison would pay him in advance for the discs he'd eventually cut. Then, when Gentle was ready, there was New York, where people would flock to hear his trumpet.

When Morison finished, Mrs. Gentle said, "No. I ain't doin' no more movin'. I got plenty of that already. I think I'm old enough to stay in one place now till I die. Now this man . . . " Here she pointed her thumb at Gentle. ". . . he can do what he wants.

I had to cry to that Lebowitz to get him work. I've made myself mighty low for him, but I ain't going to do that no more. He's always listenin' to schemes. What did you have to bother him for? We was gettin' on all right. Why don't you go way, and leave him alone? I don't want no part of your schemes!"

She went inside the house without waiting for argument. We said nothing. Gentle scratched his cheek. "Listen," he said in a low voice. "You get me a horn. I'll practise on it nights, after I finish workin'. But I ain't going nowhere outside Athens. I wouldn't cross her no more."

Morison remained, but I went North and joined the Fenton orchestra in New York. Before I left, he made me promise to return when Gentle was ready. I didn't expect to hear from him for months, if at all; but six weeks later I got a wire from him. While I waited for Fenton to find a substitute, I ran into Jack O'Neil, the guitarist, who was without work. A telegram to Morison resulted in plane fare for us both. He met us at New Orleans, and we drove immediately to Athens, where we had to take vermin-infested rooms in a boarding house. To add to the discomfort, we arrived simultaneously with an intense hot spell.

Morison told us that the heat and abstinence from liquor were making Gentle very irritable. He wanted to wax him before anything happened. He had arranged for us to cut the discs in a saloon in the colored section. The town hall and local theater were not open to a mixed group.

It was there that I next saw Gentle. He looked haggard, driven, despite his square, heavy build. I asked him how he was coming along.

He nodded. "I still got a good stomp horn."

We settled ourselves around a battered, upright piano in the rear, at the left of the bar. It was a little after sundown. A trombonist and a clarinettist, both Negroes, were up from New Orleans where Morison had hired them. The rest of the lineup was Gentle, trumpet; Morison, piano; O'Neil, guitar; myself, drums. The idea was to play until warmed up, and then to record.

I pounded my foot on the floor, twice, stating a fairly rapid tempo, and we began with the *Dippermouth Blues*. The style was group improvisation, with the clarinet and trombone—and sometimes the piano—playing counterpoint to the melodic lead of the trumpet. The guitar, drums and piano supply rhythm. Occasionally the trombone, clarinet, or piano does a solo. Gentle faltered during the first chorus. He fell behind the beat and tried unsuccessfully to catch up. I accented the weak beats without flourish, and listened as attentively as I could to the trumpet. Even apart from when he broke the melodic line, it was obvious that Gentle was too old and had been away too long. Considering his age, he was not altogether bad, but he wasn't good, either. He led two choruses, following which the clarinet and trombone each took one. The trombone was fine, very rough; but the clarinettist, a slight man who grinned continuously whenever he wasn't playing, was terrible.

The novelty of having a band there drew the neighborhood people to the saloon. The audience was receptive; they moved the tables aside and danced. We supplied ourselves with gin and icewater. By midnight we really made music, except for Gentle and the clarinettist, who blew notes, but did nothing much besides.

Gentle began to drink at one o'clock, and soon caught up to the rest of us. We quit at four, so that he could make an appearance at his job in the morning. He was quite shaky. Morison and I helped him to his house. When we reached the porch, his wife heard us and came out. She looked at us angrily, but pushed him inside without saying a word.

We staggered back to our boarding house. In the room, O'Neil was already snoring. I stripped, threw myself to the bed, and fell asleep, drenched with perspiration.

Our spinster landlady fed us breakfast early in the afternoon, eyed us sourly throughout the meal, and made it plain that only the most adverse of circumstances had forced her to take us in. It was cloudy outside, but there was no relief from the excessive heat. Morison spent the afternoon re-instructing a local mechanic in the operation of his recording machine, in the hope that Gentle's playing that night would be good enough to cut.

At eight o'clock we dragged ourselves to the saloon, but Gentle hadn't arrived. It was too hot to play, or to do anything. Drops of perspiration inched their way like insects along my neck, chest, and legs. Gentle didn't get there until nine.

He wiped his forehead with a handkerchief, and adjusted the mouthpiece of his trumpet. "Sure had a rotten day," he mumbled. "Mr. Lebowitz kicked me out of his store and don't want to see no more of me. The wife ain't lookin' at me at all." He again mopped his forehead. "Sure is hot. Don't get much hotter than this round here."

"If you don't feel like playing, we can let it go till tomorrow," I suggested.

"Nah. That's okay."

He smelled from alcohol. Our own bottle of gin was handy with a pitcher of icewater on a chair near the piano. We all hit the bottle liberally as the night wore on.

Gentle was in poor form at the start. We played for an hour and then recorded *Mandy*. He missed a few notes entirely, and played without inspiration. A jazzman has to have more than heart. He needs heart, but he needs imagination too. Gentle tried to remember and imitate the sounds he had played in his prime. He couldn't do it. We heard that when Morison played the record back.

We rehearsed some more. The saloon, that night, was empty. It was hot enough outside; indoors it was oppressive. Another hour passed before we recorded again. Again it was unsuccessful. Gentle began to get cross.

"Ain't we never gonna make these damn records?" he complained.

We tried *Wolverine Blues*. His efforts were not improved. We were nearing the bottom of another fifth of gin.

It began to drizzle at midnight but with no effect on the temperature. Everyone had taken a chorus of *Georgia Grind*. Gentle played fairly well. Morison leaned toward him. "I think you've got it now, Charlie," he said. "Let's cut a few sides and call it a night."

Gentle didn't answer, but looked doubtful.

"All right," I said. "Two ensemble choruses, Charlie. Then George'll do a full chorus on the piano. Then you pick it up, Charlies, and ride out." I turned to the clarinettist, who had not blown a good bar in two nights. "You listen," I said.

The band played the two opening choruses, with Gentle keeping close to the melody in an undistinguished style. But Morison followed with a superb piano solo. It was a two-handed, driving performance that stimulated all of us, especially the clarinettist. He sat open-mouthed, his reed across his knees, listening and watching. Then, in the midst of it, he suddenly raised his clarinet, and shouted, "Whip that thing! Whip it! Play that piano, man." And before Gentle could come in at the end of the chorus, he began to play his clarinet, blowing low, full phrases, beautifully chosen. By the time his solo was over, the record had run out. But Gentle didn't know it. He played a plodding chorus, as heavy as the heat. Behind him, the piano sounded, full of life, moving with tremendous impetus. The trombone and

(Continued on page 348)

Suggestions for a 1947 Branch Program

By Gloster B. Current

The new director of NAACP branches outlines a comprehensive program for the coming year

AT the annual conference in Cincinnati, the Association adopted an ambitious program on segregation, OPA, atomic energy, colonial peoples, veterans' affairs, housing, labor and employment, racial and religious tensions, as well as political action.

To carry out this program, every branch committee should be activated. Following is a suggested program for the year:

January, 1947—Labor and Employment Program

The Branch Labor Committee should sponsor a mass meeting on job discrimination. It should appraise the functioning of the state employment service, survey the status of women in industry, and in conjunction with the state conference, begin preparations for a fight for passage of a state fair employment practice law. (Note: New York, Massachusetts, New Jerney and Indiana have passed such a law.)

The branch labor committee should consult with Lester Perry, administrative assistant of the Washington bureau, and Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary. Each branch, as well as state and regional conferences, should secure from the national office a model FEPC bill for introduction into their state legislature.

The presidents of state conferences should call a state-wide conference on FEPC to secure the support of other organizations interested in fair-employment-practice legislation and to organize a state-wide lobby working for the passage of FEPC and other legislation in which the NAACP is interested.

February, 1947—Branch Development Fund Drives

Branches should hold anniversary balls on the birthday of the Association or some other appropriate date. Funds raised in this manner, after expenses are deducted, should be divided equally between the local branch and the national office.

Branches with 5,000 members or more should consider employment of executive secretaries. The national office gives a subsidy to branches with more than 5,000 members with full-time employed secretaries to aid in their operation. It has been proved in Detroit, Baltimore, Chicago, Dayton, Cleveland, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Houston, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles that executive secretaries enable the branch to do a full-time job, increase the membership and work more effectively in the local communities.

March, 1947—Housing Emphasis

If the branch does not have a Housing Committee, it should appoint one. During this month, the Housing Committee should survey the local housing problems and develop a program for execution by the branch. The Association is not only interested in passage of housing legislation nationally, such as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, but wherever possible, branches should participate actively in local citizens' housing and planning councils and cooperate with labor and consumers' groups in the achievement of better housing.

Branches where restricted covenants are a problem should, through their housing committee, call attention to this evil by holding local restrictive covenant conferences, using the press and other media to focus attention on how racial restricted covenants prevent Negroes from living in property they have purchased. Branches in areas where zoning ordinances are used to segregate Negroes should fight this practice through the courts and organize to break down these barriers which have already been proved unconstitutional by Supreme Court decisions.

April, 1947—Nation-Wide Campaign

Membership Committees should be ready for the opening of the local membership drive which corresponds with the nation-wide campaign of the Association. The 1947 membership goal will probably be 1,000,000 members. To achieve this unprecedented total, many branches will have to double their present membership. Membership

Duncan Lawson

EXECUTIVE COMMMITTEE *of the Lockbridge, Va., branch with headquarters at Lexington, Va. Front row, L. to R., James Harris, treasurer; Mrs. Harry Kenney, vice-president; Rev. C. O. Mitchell, president; Mrs. Robert Price, secretary. Second row, Mrs. Annie Hall, entertainment; Mrs. Edwin Walker, youth counselor; Mrs. Carl H. Aiken, press and publicity; Mrs. C. M. Wood, membership; Miss Florence Howe, education. Standing, Falvoreese Jones, labor, and C. A. Lewis, legal address. Other members not present are L. J. Shaw, finance, and Rev. W. E. Jefferson, chaplain.*

Committees should think in terms of the largest body of workers ever enlisted in the local campaign, use of parades, mass meetings, radio and street corner meeting to reach their quota.

Political Action

In a number of cities there are spring elections held during this month for such public offices as members of boards of education, etc.

Registration dates should be ascertained by the branch legal redress committee or a special committee on registration and voting. Registration and voting dates should take place one month prior to the election.

Voting Schools

In many communities the number of ballots spoiled in predominately Negro precincts is a national disgrace. This happens because the voters have been inadequately instructed.

Hold special voting information sessions. Ask the schools to cooperate by holding mock elections in the school and teach the children how to vote. Have the children take the mock ballots home and teach their parents.

Ask the churches to cooperate as a part of their social service work. Ask the pastor to hold a voting instruction session after class meeting, or to call a special session of his church for a voter's school. Ask the lodges to do the same. The city or county clerk's office will supply sample ballots. If there are not enough sample ballots, have some more printed. Post these in conspicuous places in barber shops, poll rooms, restaurants and other public places. Show plainly on the sample ballot how to mark choices with ☒. Incidentally, the barbers will be glad to cooperate in this part of the campaign. So will the beauticians. Go to their alliance meetings or approach them direct. Tell them that they must help in the campaign.

Ask your local school teachers to form a committee to run the voters' information school. Remember NAACP is not telling citizens whom to vote for. We are telling them how to cast their ballots and urging that they vote properly. If your schools are effective, and they can be, there will be fewer spoiled ballots.

May-June, 1947 (Optional)

Membership meetings should be held on national issues, such as anti-lynching drive legislation and housing. Annual Conference delegates should be elected. Every branch should plan at the beginning of the year to be represented at the Annual Conference in Atlantic City to be held June, 1947.

DO NOT FORGET

The 8th Annual
YOUTH CONFERENCE
of the NAACP

♦

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
November 21-24

July-August, 1947

The entertainment committees should function by sponsoring NAACP picnics with ball games, recreational activities, boat rides and other entertainments to raise funds to aid in the local and national program.

Meeting

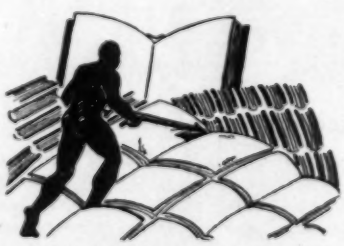
Start the fall off with a bang! Hold a large membership meeting. Select a dramatic national issue. Tie in local issues. Generally, civil rights' programs are best after the summer months. In northern communitie race conflict increases during the summer. There are a number of police brutality cases arising, and the branch should dramatize its fight to eliminate the practice of denial of civil liberties.

October, 1947—Political Action

Once again the branch registration and voting committee should get busy by holding voting schools and mass meetings on the local issues and sponsor registration drives to increase active participation in government.

November, 1947—Education and Annual Meetings

In cooperation with NEA and other educational organizations interested in better education, the branch education committee should hold a mass meeting to focus attention on local community problems of education.



September, 1947—Fall Membership

The education committee should stress local and national issues. The branch veterans' committee should also cooperate with the education committee in the sponsorship of the mass meeting, as well as check to see whether Negro veterans are being admitted to educational institutions receiving employment opportunities and other benefits due veterans under the GI bill.

Branches should plan for the holding of the annual meeting which, according to the constitution, must be held between the days of November 1-December 15. The names of newly elected officers should be sent promptly to the department of branches by the secretary.

December, 1947—NAACP Christmas Seals

During this month the branch entertainment committee or a special Christmas seal committee should flood the city with NAACP Christmas seals. The entertainment committee hould also sponsor a fund-raising activity such as a bazaar or similar entertainment to help raise fund for local and national purposes.

INSTITUTIONAL PERSONNEL WANTED

Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Mississippi, a coeducational, accredited college for Negroes, is in need of a manual training teacher and a Superintendent of Building and Grounds. The manual training teacher must meet the Smith-Hughes requirements. One who can also teach other kinds of shop work such as automechanics and electrical wiring is preferred. The Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds must be trained in a technical school and be willing to be responsible for the general operation, upkeep, and repair of the entire plant.

Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins, Texas, a coeducational, accredited college for Negroes, is in need of a man or woman to manage the college kitchen and dining room.

Any one interested in either of these positions may apply to Miss Verna Sutton, Executive Secretary of the Department of Institutional Missions, United Christian Missionary Society, 222 S. Downey Ave., Indianapolis, Indiana.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAM

COMMITTEE REPORTS POLICIES: In September a six-man committee appointed by the NAACP board reported out a political action program for the Association and branches which was accepted by the board.

Particular emphasis was given that section of the report which provides safeguards for maintaining the nonpartisan policies of the Association. It was clearly pointed out that the NAACP does not endorse either a party or a party member for election purposes. However, the politically influential membership was urged to examine issues and candidates on the ground that the membership would in many instances be more familiar with local situations and candidates than the national office. But local awareness would be further implemented, however, by a clarification by experts in the national office of the issues affecting Negroes and other minorities.

In rating candidates the national office will limit itself to giving full information on the voting records of senators and congressmen, with particular emphasis on issues affecting Negroes. Since the national office will not rate candidates on a state level, these candidates will be judged on their relative positions in relation to these issues. The membership will be kept constantly informed of these issues, primarily, through our regular official publications, *The Crisis*, and the monthly tabloid, *The Bulletin*, copies of which go to every NAACP member.

The following resolutions were voted as recommendations to the board by the committee:

(1) That the Association go on record as not endorsing any political party or any individual because of party connections or affiliation.

(2) That the policy of the NAACP shall be that branches are urged to examine proposals, purely non-paristan in character as listed below, affecting local or state public issues and which require electorate approval; to take a position for or against such proposals within the Constitutional limits of the Association, unless good cause be presented why a position not be taken; and give active support to a position taken thereon.

To include such issues as:

(a) Proposals arising locally or state-wide by and through initiative and referendum
(b) Bond issues
(c) Charter and constitutional amendments

Where proposal is state-wide state conferences of branches, where they exist, are urged to determine and announce a position to be binding on all branches. Otherwise, some workable intra-state method should be devised for unified coordinated action after consultation with the national office.

Acme

SEEK NEW LAWS AGAINST MOB VIOLENCE—*Top, members of the National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence called on President Truman September 19 to urge him to call a special session of Congress to enact new laws against mob violence. L. to R., Leslie Perry, Washington bureau NAACP; Boris Shishkin, AFL; Frederick E. Reissig, Federal Council Churches; President Truman; Walter White, secretary NAACP and spokesman for group; James Carey, secretary CIO; and Dr. Channing H. Tobias of New York. Bottom, members of the executive board of the North Carolina State Conference which met at Statesville, N. C., Sept. 13.*

(3) That the national board call a meeting of all representative Negro organizations to consider the question of focusing attention on issues that will come up for decision in the election of candidates in the fall and the importance of Negroes participating actively by registering and voting. Further recommended that advertisements and other material be carried in the press.

(4) That the board call upon every branch to conduct a registration and voting drive.

(5) That an entire issue of *The Bulletin* be devoted to registration and voting.

(6) That the board consider the use of staff assistants and preparation of material that would be of assistance to the local branches in the conducting of registration and turning-out-the-vote drives.

One indication of the far-reaching implications of the Association's newly adopted program may be found in the recently published analysis of the vote which defeated representative Roger C. Slaughter for renomination in Kansas City, Mo. According to a recent analysis by PAC and the National Negro Publishers Association, Mr. Slaughter was defated largely by Negro voters on the issue of his opposition to FEPC.

Members of the committee making the report consisted of the following:

DeWitt

MEMBERS OF THE NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., BRANCH *launch a drive for 3,000 members on the eve of Rev. Long's fourth anniversary.*

Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, Philadelphia; Attorney David M. Grant, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Palmer Weber, and Arthur Spingarn, all of New York. Three committee members were elected by the delegates at the 37th annual conference, and three were elected by the board.

MOB VIOLENCE

TRUMAN PROMISES TO END MOB VIOLENCE: On September 19 President Truman received a delegation from the recently formed National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence. The Committee, formed at the call of the Association, represents forty-seven national labor, church, women's, publishers', lawyers', civil rights' and fraternal organizations.

The delegation was warmly received by Mr. Truman and he evinced so much interest in the subject that he spent thirty-five instead of the previously scheduled fifteen minutes discussing the situation with the group.

Serving as spokesman for the delegation, Mr. White urged the president to act to stem the rising tide of lynchings and violence against Negroes. He described to the president the circumstances leading up to the blinding of Isaac Woodard, calling attention to the fact that sheriff L. M. Shull of Batesburg, S. C., had openly boasted of his sadistic handiwork. Then Mr. White pointed out that the NAACP had submitted to the Department of Justice the names of participants in the quadruple lynching in Walton county, Georgia, as well as those involved in the blowtorch, meat-cleaver lynching in Minden, La. He emphasized the fact that to date the Department of Justice has not moved for an indictment.

President Truman said that this wave of violence has been one of his greatest problems. Visibly moved by the story of Woodard's blinding, he said that nothing he could think of could justify a sheriff doing what this one did.

Members of the delegation included: Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP; Dr. Channing T. Tobias; Frederick E. Reissig, Federal Council of Churches of America; James Carey, secretary CIO; Boris Shishkin, AFL; and Leslie Perry, administrative asisttant, Washington bureau.

Lynching Thwarted: Vigilance and

A SUCCESSFUL MASS MEETING *was held by the North Carolina State Conference with Dr. W. A. Tutt, pastor of the First Baptist church, Salisbury, N. C., as the principal speaker. T. V. Magnum, president of the Statesville branch, is shown at the speaker's stand giving a history of the local branch. One hundred thirty-two dollars was raised at this meeting and memorial services were held for the Georgia lynch victims.*

MASS MEETING SPEAKER *at the recent N. C. conference was T. V. Magnum, president of the Statesville, N. C., branch.*

prompt action on the part of the NAACP and the North Carolina police on September 17 saved the life of a Negro veteran accused of having assaulted a white man after words had passed between them on a lonely road. It is alleged that the white man was knocked down by the veteran, whom he had cursed. The man then got up and walked off, but he later died in a hospital. Medical reports indicated that the real cause of his death, however, was not the blow from the veteran's fist, but a heart condition.

After the white man's death word quickly spread throughout the white community of Sylvia and Waynesville that he had been murdered. Two white men followed the bus taken by the Negro after the altercation and at its first stop tried "to get him." However, the police of Sylvia had been alerted and they followed the bus in their squad car. At the bus stop, the police stepped in ahead of the other two pursurers, arrested the Negro, and placed him in jail in Sylvia. Then a lynch mob of about 350 persons from the surrounding area tried to get the prisoner to "take care of him." So he was transferred to Waynesville for safekeeping.

When the NAACP heard a radio report that the mob, which had dispersed overnight, had returned and was storming the Waynesville jail, the Associtaion wired Governor R. Gregg Cherry to intervene, if he had not already done so, to prevent a lynching. The governor immediately wired: "There is not the slightest disturbance or trouble in Waynesville today and there has been no violence of any sort there last night or today. The prisoner is safely in jail and there is no move to disturb him."

WOODARD TOUR

To Visit Branches: In order to help the Association raise funds to continue its fight against all forms of discrimination, segregation and the denial of civil rights to Negroes throughout the country, Isaac Woodard, Jr., started in October on a public appearance tour which will bring him before branch audiences in all parts of the country.

This young army veteran, who was blinded by sheriff L. M. Shull of Batesburg, S. C., just four hours after his discharge, and before any charges were preferred against him in court, has a very personal stake in seeing that justice is won for Negroes who fought for the United States overseas only to find at home a disregard for minority rights which shames the very word "democracy."

What The Branches Are Doing

ALABAMA: The Alabama state conference is pursuing a southwide fight against discrimination on common carriers, according to an announcement of Emory O. Jackson, chairman.

J. LeFlore of Mobile is directing the fight against the railroads and bus lines in the South, and as a result of conference efforts the Louisville and Nashville railroad gave assurances that coach equipment on their two crack trains, the Hummingbird and the Georgian, will provide identical accommodations in every respect. The Southern railway likewise promised new coach equipment on the Southerner and the Tennessean.

Practically all carriers in the Southeast are being investigated by the conference in an effort to have railroads and bus lines obesrve the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court outlawing jim crow in interstate travel.

The conference has also urged all Negroes, where numbered seat assignments are desired, to telephone their reservations to ticket agents without statement of racial identity.

On September 12 the MONTGOMERY branch held a mass meeting and trophy presentation with Rev. William Prince Vaughn, pastor of the Hall Street church, as prinicpal speaker. The branch trophy was presented to E. D. Nixon, branch president.

ARKANSAS: J. L. Holmes was delegate from the ARKANSAS CITY branch to the annual NAACP conference in Cincinnati. In June Mrs. Pearl Roberson, chairman, raised $126 in addition to $61 raised for the Tennessee "riot" fund. Ten dollars was raised for the Georgia lynching fund. According to the membership report, there were forty-seven new members.

CALIFORNIA: The SANTA CLARA COUNTY branch has appealed to churches of the communtiy to join in the nationwide mourning services for the lynch victims of Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and South Carolina. As result of the action of the executive committee of the branch, a conference committee was called which resulted in a "Call for Action Conference" on FEPC held on September 8 in the civic auditorium in San Jose.

Letters were sent by the SAN FRANCISCO branch urging punishment of policeman L. G. Shull to Attorney General Tom Clark, Secretary of War Robert Patterson, and General Omar Bradley.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: The DISTRICT branch has announced a $10,000 damage suit against Private Jeremiah Bradley for the brutal beating of Miss Olive Webb in July. The suit was filed September 3 in the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia by attorney Harry A. Dyson on behalf of his client.

The branch has also announced a complaint requesting that Bradley be brought before the Trial Board for dismissal from the police force. Though a total of seven sworn affidavits have

SPEAKER *at 8th annual youth conference to be held in New Orleans, La., November 21-24, A. Maceo Smith, racial relations adviser of the National Housing Authority, region 5; president of the Texas and Dallas Negro chambers of commerce and executive secretary of the Texas State Conference.*

been submitted with the complaint, no action has been taken by the grand jury.

Columbia Temple No. 422, IBPOE of W, has made a contribution to the fighting fund of the branch. In expressing thanks on behalf of the branch for the $25 contribution, Mrs. Beatrice M. Read, administrative assistant said: "We are happy and proud to know that we have the wholehearted support of your great organization; for the NAACP fights not for one, but for all. Our battles are the battles of every freedom-loving American, and our victories are truly victories for democracy."

Strong protest was recently registered by the branch with the Virginia Trailways company over the action of one of the company's drivers in ordering a Negro inter-state passenger to leave her seat near the front of the bus.

MICHIGAN: The DETROIT branch came to the defense of L. C. Wheate, who is being held for extradition to Alabama on a seven-year-old charge. The case first came to the attention of the branch as a result of action taken by the National Lawyers Guild, which is appearing on behalf of the defendant.

Wheate was arrested and sentenced to four years imprisonment in Alabama for allegedly having stolen $40 worth of cigars, although he has repeatedly declared his innocence. After having served more than two years of his original sentence, he fled from a prison farm where he had been badly beaten and abused.

The branch entered the case at the request of the Lawyers Guild and has requested Governor Kelly to refuse extradition on the grounds that sufficient time had already been served and that the man had proved a good citizen during his five-year residence in Detroit. It was likewise pointed out to Governor Kelly that there was no assurance of safety for Wheate in view of the wave of lynchings and mob violence against Negroes in Alabama and other parts of the South.

Four anti-lynching mass meetings were held by the branch throughout an entire week in September. In addition to the principal speakers at each meeting, representatives of the Detroit Interracial Committee, UAW-CIO, and the Michigan Citizens Committee also spoke.

Executive secretary Edward M. Swan has requested investigation of the discriminatory hiring practices of the Chevrolet Gear and Axle company. It is reported that this company is openly recruiting workers from outside Detroit to fill jobs here. And this is being done despite the fact that there are qualified men available within the city.

NEW JERSEY: First fall meeting of the CAMDEN branch was held on September 12 at the Frances Harper YWCA. Reports were given on the progress of the school integration program to integrate colored pupils and teachers in the school system.

BRANCH WORKER—*Linwood Faison, for fifteen years treasurer of the Newport, R. I., branch.*

Principal Josiah Conwell of the Mt. Vernon school attended and reported that he had transferred thirty-one pupils from his school alone. He also stated that cooperation of teachers and pupils, white and colored, had been very gratifying to date and that there had been no reports of friction due to transfers.

The branch passed a motion to inform the local commissioners, freeholders, and the county prosecutor of recent samples of police brutality in Camden.

And Robert Burk Johnson, chairman of the legal redress and legislation committee, outlined the recent cases handled by the branch; the most recent being that of Magnus Tinsley who was arrested and beaten by three police officers, who broke his jaw. The branch posted a $250 cash bond and swore out warrants for the three officers.

The Camden branch through its general welfare committee has been heading the drive to integrate pupils and teachers into the school system. Beginning with the fall term, approximately 100 children were transferred out of colored schools into schools in their districts.

An active campaign has been carried on for the past year-and-a-half to test the jim-crow set-up. Colored children may attend the school nearest their homes, but in the past most parents would enroll their children in one of the seven Negro schools. It was to break down this practice that lead the branch to educate the public through sponsored mass meetings, cooperation of community groups, and written notices to the branch membership asking

JURY MEMBERS *at the Lawrenceburg, Tenn., "riot" trial.*

M. Smith

KEYNOTE SPEAKER *for the 8th annual youth conference to be held in New Orleans, La., November 21-24 is Justice Hubert T. Delany of the New York Domestic Relations Court.*

parents to cooperate in the program.

Dr. John Bosshart, New Jersey commissioner of education, told a committee from the branch that in instances where children had been refused admission to schools nearest their homes they should be brought to his attention, and that he would make boards of education comply with the law. Dr. Bosshart stated that the law forbids forcing a child to go out of his immediate neighborhood to attend an elementary school.

This campaign is the outhgrowth of a survey made in Camden a year ago last May by Noma Jensen, assistant field secretary in charge of intercultural programs.

NEW YORK: The YONKERS branch has initiated a drive in that city and Westchester county to bring to justice the participators in recent acts of mob violence against Negroes, to secure idemnity for the victims, and to discourage their recurrence. A mass protest rally was held at the Institutional AME Zion church on September 20 to enlist the active support of all interested individuals and organizations.

The BROOKLYN branch is continuing its campaign against lynching and also urging Negroes to register and vote.

NORTH CAROLINA: The ASHEVILLE branch presented its 1946 scholarship of $500 to Miss Woinga Watts of that city. Miss Watts is a former student of the Allen high school and is the initial beneficiary of the scholarship program recently inaugurated by the branch. She will attend Knoxville college, where she expects to major in music.

Criteria for basis of the award included scholarship, leadership, and activity in the NAACP youth council. Miss Watts was selected by a committee of six members; three from the Allen high school faculty, and three from the branch.

Members of the branch scholarship committee are: Joe Felmet, white, chairman; Mrs. L. B. Michael, state organizer and youth advisor; Rev. H. V. Lofquist, white; G. W. Bryd, branch president; Rev. Vladimer E. Hartman, white; and Z. B. Cook, executive secretary of the local branch.

SUGGESTIONS FOR HOLDING BRANCH MEETINGS

The following suggestions are helpful in planning monthly meetings

1. Secure an auditorium, church or other suitable building.
2. Secure support of organizations such as American Veterans Committee, lodges, Jewish groups, labor unions, civil rights' groups, civic and social organizations.
3. Secure as principal speaker, some dynamic orator to discuss the national and local program against mob violence, police brutality, lynching and local issues.
4. Arrange a good program with good musical background, but not too long.
5. Get out good publicity. We suggest mail to the membership, letters to groups and organizations, newspaper releases, daily and Negro papers as well as labor papers.
6. Secure a money-raiser to take the offering. Remember, the net proceeds of each entertainment or fund-raising effort by a branch shall be divided equally between the branch and the national office, unless written permission is obtained from the national office.
7. Have every church declare the Sunday prior to your meeting "NAACP DAY" at which an after-offering will be taken and reported at the NAACP mass meeting.
8. Advise the national office of plans you make.

BRANCH OFFICERS *of the St. Louis, Mo., NAACP are: L. to R., Rev. J. A. Hall, campaign chairman; Mrs. Kitty Hall, co-chairman; and Atty. D. M. Grant, president.*

OHIO: Following the public parade and memorial held in Cleveland, the CLEVELAND branch has received contributions to the national fund set up by the national office. The aggregate amount raised thus far by the branch is $1,153.30. From the collection at the memorial, $553.14 was raised; Antioch Baptist church, $275.16; East Mt. Zion Baptist church, $235; United Steelworkers of America, $50; Cleveland Postal Alliance, $25; City Service Social Club, $10; and Mr. and Mrs. Gaither Morris, $5.

Cleveland is showing by additional contributions that the lynchings in Georgia are repugnant to decent citizens and that the most concrete way to crystallize the indignantion registered is to donate to the defense fund for legal action.

PENNSYLVANIA: In a nursery rhyme book titled *Mother Goose,* there is a poem called "Ten Little Niggers." In September the PHILADELPHIA branch protested to the publishers, Lowe, Inc., Kenosha, Wisconsin, pointing out that the use of the rhyme is an insult to the thirteen million Americans of Negro descent.

In response to the branch communication, the publishers stated that it was not their intent to insult or ridicule any portion of the population in any of their books. They also promised to omit this poem in future editions of the book.

At the regular monthly meeting of the branch board in September, it was unanimously voted that "the Association support the call to Congress to pass legislation providing a haven for displaced persons in Europe." It was likewise agreed that local congressmen and senators be informed of the position which the branch has taken.

TEXAS: The PECOS branch has sent $20 to the national office to help swell the rewards being offered for the arrest and conviction of those guilty of the Monroe, Ga., lynching and the blinding of Isaac Woodard.

Total membership of the branch is 133; youth council membership, 83. Branch president is R. J. Walker.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

Eighth Annual Youth Conference: Large delegations from youth groups and college chapters are expected to attend the eighth annual youth conference which meets in New Orleans, La.,

YOUTH CONFERENCE HOSTS—*Mmbers of the Dillard university college chapter who are preparing for the 8th annual youth conference. Seated, first row, L. to R., Constance Lewis, Ford Butler, Jean Lee, secretary; Herwald Price, president; Olga J. Jackson, vice-president; Charles Pierre and Caynell Matthews. Second row, Gerald Valley, Lois Powell, Marion E. Johnson, Inez Foe, Marion Morton, Nathan King. Standing, Carlton Picou, Melba R. Durden, Henry Johnson, Elenora Mitchell, Cleordia Matthews, John W. Johnson, Noma Thornton, Albertine Wilson, Joseph Richardson and Monroe Beck.*

November 21-24. The conference program for the four-day session is as follows:

Wednesday, November 20: Registration of delegates; Thursday, November 21: Registration continued, Organization of Conference, Election of Committees, Dinner, Keynote address; Friday, November 22: Breakfast, Discussion: Bill of Rights for Youth, led by Robert L. Carter, A. P. Tureaud and Dan Byrd. Discussion: Taxation Without Representation, led by Maceo Smith and Dan Byrd; Dinner; Mass Meeting: One World or None.

Saturday, November 23: Discussion: Planning a Course of Action, led by Dr. George Snowden and Ruby Hurley; Lunch, reports from committees, Election of officers and Conference dance.

Sunday: Open-air mass meeting at which Isaac Woodard and Mrs. John C. Jones, widow of J. C. Jones lynched at Minden, La., will be present.

PANCAS *in the 1946 membership drive of the Nashville, Tenn., branch. These workers brought in 50 or more members each.*

Book Reviews

COLOR AT THE CANTEEN

***Color Blind: A White Woman Looks at the Negro.* By Margaret Halsey. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946. 163pp. $2.50.**

A recently published hate-book in commenting upon Margaret Halsey's memorandum, publicized a few years ago, to her junior canteen-hostesses snarled: "It advises white girls at the canteens that they had just as well get down off their high horses and dance with Negro soldiers." But the author, evidently unaware of Miss Halsey's previous literary successes, continued: "It apparently was written by one Margaret Halsey," and, he parenthesized, "We'll want to remember her name,"—which was, as far as I can determine, the only inspired thought in the book.

We'll want to remember her name this time as the author of *Color Blind*, which, as books on our peculiar American race ways go, has its own particular value and place. The book is not designed for Negroes—unless they happen to be interested in the behavior patterns of our white citizens of good will (as for those of the ill-willed, there are enough evidences handing around—mostly from trees). The book is, however, required reading for that fringe of the white population who have some notion of the meaning of our age-old phrase, brotherhood-of-man, but who have thus far managed to rationalize themselves out of doing anything constructive to help the situation.

It is these people—the Illinois housewife, the Pennsylvania Ladies Aider, the Iowa office worker—who may be gently, firmly shown that they have an individual responsibility to answer to the national conscience. Furthermore, the book will be palatable to them. It was not written by a professional preacher, sociologist or anthropologist; it was written, instead, by an ordinary American white woman who simply reports her experiences briefly, and, where it is in taste, humorously.

The chapter I welcomed most is "Southern Discomfort." Although it by no means exhausts the many ramifications of the *southern attitude*, it does set forth one aspect which many of us ignore: That is (1) Southerners themselves know they do not want to revert to slavery; (2) they are obviously disturbed by the present situation, inasmuch as they masochistically persist in opening and ending all discussions with Northerners on the "Nigrah question";

and (3) they cannot see a way to go forward and still save face, simply because they have mouthed so much their defences of the *status quo*. This analysis of the South, as stated, is not complete. It doesn't consider any factor but the moral one. Even there, it ignores those few Southerners who are carrying on a valiant fight for decency in their home territory, and it does not account either for the ardent racists, who we can only hope will die off, carrying their disease with them. But it does present us with the delicate problem of maneuvering a defeat with dignity, for the young South particularly.

The chapter on "Sex, Jealously and the Negro" will, as these things have a way of doing, become the most discussed. Some people will argue that Miss Halsey is right in maintaining that primitive peoples (including those who are forced to live primitively) employ simple, direct methods of satisfying their sexual drives; whereas those in intricate, technological cultures must use devious routes, and, because these routes are never fully satisfactory, a feeling of envy and hate towards the simpler folk is created. Others will just as staunchly maintain that the sex drives of the highly civilized are indeed as fully satisfied as those of the primitives, only less conspicuouly and more sophisticatedly so. I know of no way to prove either point. Apart from coition itself, sexual stimuli and sexual manifestations vary so much from individual to individual, culture to culture, era to era that it is impossible to make any blanket statements concerning them. Miss Halsey could simply have said that no one is more or less sexually potent than any other person solely by reason of race. Her long discussion of the subject is, however, only in proportion to the amount of ridiculous tales and stupid misinformation built up around the topic.

ODELLA PHELPS WOOD
Author of the novel "High Ground."

Although many criticisms *could* be leveled at the book—not for what has been said, but for what has not—Miss Halsey is not attempting to duplicate anything in the library of literature on our national problem. She is merely reporting experiences and she is at her best when she does just that. Perhaps the only valid criticism is that the book had, indeed, to be written at all.

MARILYN KAEMMERLE

HOW HIGH THE GROUND?

***High Ground.* By Odella Phelps Wood. New York: The Exposition Press, 1945. 209 pp. $2.50.**

The average person seldom reads a novel with consciousness of determining its purpose. Yet when a social-purpose novel is given to the public it is certainly reasonable to enquire into the author's thesis, the adequacy of its defense, the range and power of its

Color and Conscience

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

By BUELL G. GALLAGHER *Professor of Christian Ethics, Pacific School of Religion*

A scathing indictment of the hypocrisy and evasiveness of White Christianity in its failure to face the implications of racial arrogance and segregation. The author, former president of Talladega College in Alabama, here reviews the history of the Christian Church to show the growth of racial segregation and offers a program of specific efforts for churches and communities.

"A comprehensive, scholarly survey of prejudice and caste, salted with a Christian's anger at the un-Christian actions of the Christian church. From myriad sources, Buell Gallagher has gathered the long record of church attitudes and practices that are the very opposite of the central teachings of Jesus. . . . A thorough and carefully documented report so brilliantly written that it is as exciting as a historical novel."

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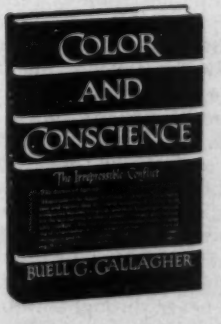
Julius Rosenwald Fund



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demonstration through situations and characters delineated. One may, of course, look for other things in such a novel; in fact, frequently does so, perhaps finding to his satisfaction much that is gratifying and profitable. He may nevertheless finish the book wondering to what extent his expectations could have been fulfilled by a writer who, in view of a stated aim, sets out to do one thing and winds up doing another.

Such is the case with *High Ground*. Odella Phelps Wood tells a good story of the lives of Jim and Marthana Clayton and of others connected with them. Theirs is a love life threatened with disaster, fraught with anxiety over child bearing, home conditions, and personal ambitions. But in this they are no different from hundreds of thousands of other Negroes who despite the quicksilver base of social and economic circumstance confronting them live in a very practical sense by middle-class American standards, thus developing for themselves and those associated with them a human drama which only those who live through similar situations can fully understand. All this is to the good: it gives the story the ring of universal human experience, at least so far as the milieu with which the author deals is concerned. The social, economic, moral, aesthetic levels even within a single family dramatize the striving of Negroes against odds. The color complexes, the bi-racial attitudes, the negative reactions to a democracy which exists in theory only—these and other like matters give the book a strong twang of human interest.

But these things are too frequnetly done in pastels, some of them so dainty as to be hardly discernible at first view. The novel begins with World War I which sweeps Jim Clayton into its vortex along with thousands of others like him who have known only conutry life with its simple fare and hard labor. It moves steadily forward with commendable speed into World War II. The difficulty is that the virulence of undermined hopes, of inordinately mean denials of right and justice, of cynically questioning attitudes is played down, never brought into the foreground quite far enough to depict justly the people whom the author takes as her theme.

One could hardly take serious exception to this but for one fact. She says, "I have tried to do for my people what Pearl S. Buck has done for the Chinese. In this novel is portrayed the customs, loves, hopes and fears peculiar to the American Negro." Within very narrow limits she has succeeded in fulfilling her purpose. One could hardly say that anything she says of Negroes is not true; the question is whether it is fully true, whether her representations reach the heights and depths of stoicism and cynicism, of aspiration and dejection of just plain humanness found among American Negroes during the very period with which the novel deals.

Several things come to light here. First of all, despite the flash-back technique well used, the screen is too narrow, the delineation too limited to do justice to the subject. Then, there is too evident determination to show the Negro as taking high ground on social and economic problems to reveal his deeper feelings in their great variety. Besides, there is the matter of dealing more pointedly with folk elements if the author is to do for her people what Pearl Buck has done for the Chinese. Finally, the thesis of high ground on Americanism can hardly be shown by the degree of complacency found here; it may generate genuine resentment, and has done so among some of the most solid Negro advocates of Democracy. *High Ground* is a good story well told. It is not another *Good Earth* about a different people.

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BLESSED LAMB

***Dew on Jordan.* By Harold Preece and Celia Kraft. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1946. 221 pp. $2.50.**

Dew on Jordan is not a book about Negro life. Rather, it is a book of the people dealing with the multiplicity of religious sects that have grown up in this country from Colonial days to the present time. It is a series of delightful essays emphasizing the folk elements inherent in the mores and customs of the many racial elements that make up these United States. What gives the book a pattern similar to that of a novel, and thus enhances its readability, is its arrangement in three sections (Sanctified Folks, Lay My Burden Down, and God's Remnant People), and the skillful portrayal of certain key personages, religious leaders and "saints" of one sect or another.

Its theme is development of Protestant sects, its millieu that section of Protestantism whose adherents take their religion so seriously as to feud.

Dew on Jordan is an important documentation of religious groups in our own time. It is the kind of book that may be read piecemeal or in its entirety at the first sitting and then returned to again and again with pleasure. There are at least three good reasons for this: the knack of good story telling, the pungency and grace of language employed, and the natural appeal of familiar characters dramatically depicted.

ARTHUR E. BURKE

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School News

(Continued from page 327)

tion; and Margaret Hill, counselor to women.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, the United States Office of Education, the American Association for Adult Education, and the National Conference on Adult Education are jointly sponsoring an adult education program to cut down functional illiteracy. The program is financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY began its 48th academic year September 17, with ten new additions to the faculty and staff. The enrollment is 925 students.

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, chairman of the sociology department at Atlanta university, has been appointed visiting professor of sociology at HAVERFORD COLLEGE, Haverford, Pa., for the coming year.

Dr. William Stuart Nelson dean of the school of religion at HOWARD UNIVERSITY, has sailed with his wife for Calcutta, India, to join the relief and rehabilitation projects of the American Friends Service Committee.

The first library of Encyclopaedia Britannica films in a Negro college has been established at the KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE, and sixty-three films have been purchased through Encyclopaedia Britannica Films Lease-to-Own Plan. These films illustrate all studies in the fields of the arts and sciences.

KONXVILLE COLLEGE began its 72nd year on September 24 with a capacity enrollment of 330 students. This is one of the largest enrollments in recent years.

New faculty members sare: L. E. Jordan, biology; Mrs. Mae S. Williams, music; and Mrs. Lenora Kloepfer, homemaking. Professor H. J. Kloepfer returns to the college after a leave of absence for study at the University of Colorado.

F. E. Mapp, biology, and James E. Parker, physics, are studying in the graduate school of the University of Chicago on General Education Board Fellowships for the year 1946-1947.

FISK UNIVERSITY was host to the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference on September 6. The conference, comprising fifteen colleges, met to discuss procedures and schedules for the major competitive intercollegiate sports during the forthcoming school year.

New faculty members are: H. Gamick Williams, vocational appraiser at the Veterans Administration Guidance Center; Dr. Samuel P. Massie, Jr., instructor in chemistry; John T. Fields, training officer for the Veterans Administration Guidance Center; Lee Osborne Scott, philosophy and religion; Walter Taylor, physics; and Clarence H. Barber, music.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, director of Fisk's department of social sciences, has been appointed as one of the forty members of the National Commission advising the State Department on United States participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) opened its 81st year on September 21 with an enrollment of 1,011 students.

First winner of the $400 Robert S. Abbott Memorial Scholarship in Journalism, awarded by the Chicago Defender for study in the Lincoln school of journalism, was Mamie Ruth Butler of Palestine, Texas.

Marchita Hackney and Loyce Arnold, two Lincoln seniors, received prizes at the Missouri State fair for their art work. Miss Hackney's poster, "Mildred Pierce," placed second in commercial art; and Miss Arnold's picture, "The Village Church," won third prize in oil painting.

Dr. Meddie D. Taylor, professor of chemistry, was one of a dozen Negro scientists listed in a War Department release as being among workers in the atomic bomb development.

A "Check List of Negro Newspapers in the United States (1827-1946)," No. 2 in the Lincoln university journalism series, is now being distributed by the college. The 37-page booklet lists 468 newspapers, their locations, date founded and in case they are extinct, date of expiration, editor, and the issues on file as well as where these issues are available.

Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs, president of Lincoln, attended, upon the invitation of G. L. Maxwell, chairman, the seven-day meeting of the Hazen Conference on Higher Education held at Estes Park. Colorado, August 24-30.

Paris Conference

(Continued from page 333)

ex-enemy countries. On the other hand, the representatives of the ex-enemy countries at the Paris conference have generally conceded that Russia has been generous in her demands.

In any event, these reparations represent very little more than token payments for the vast damage and devastation which the troops of these countries wrought upon Soviet terrritory. The Anglo-American claims, however, are in respect of the property of their capitalist trusts and monopolies, and not for the damage committed upon British and American soil, for it is quite well-known that not a single Hungarian or Rumanian battalion marched on New York or London, while they overran the Ukraine, destroying and pillaging as they went.

This fundamental conflict over the right of Anglo-American capitalists to enjoy the trade of eastern and central Europe produced the suggestion from the Australian delegation in regard to Rumanian reparations that these should be made not in goods but in sterling or dollars, which brought the reply from Mr. Molotov that it "would simply make Rumania dependent on the Anglo-American monetary system," and that such dependence "is not compatible with Rumania's true interests and could only worsen her general situation." Australia's solicitude for the small eastern European countries inspired the suggestion from her delegation that no final amount of reparations from Rumania should be fixed for six months. This drew from Mr. Molotov the gibe that Australia, which is thousands of miles away, was showing a greater interest in Rumanian affairs than the Rumanians themselves.

All these happenings are evidence of the fierce struggle to secure and consolidate spheres of inflence in Europe as between the Eastern and Western blocs. The Soviet Union's approach is motivated by her concern to secure her frontiers against the aggression which she so strongly feels is bound to come, sooner or later, from the West. Why, to achieve this end, has she reversed so completely the policy of the early post-Revolution years? It is my opinion that the proletariat outside the Soviet Union have not responded to the early gestures of the Russian Revolution, so that today the Soviet leaders feel that they cannot rely upon such an uncertain ally, but must endeavor to safeguard their frontiers by more direct means.

Unique Liberality

In the past, the Soviet Union showed a most unique liberality towards her neighbors, but each one of the states to whom she was so liberal immediately after the Revolution—Finland, Poland, the Baltic countries, Turkey—came under the domination of reactionary governments which allowed themselves to be used by the Western Powers as instruments of power politics directed against the Soviet Union. Without the aid which the Soviet Union gave to Turkey in her fight against Britain, and also by the mere fact of the Revolution, which eliminated the secret treaty between Britain and Russia which allocated Constantinople [now officially Istanbul] to the latter, Turkey would not be in existence today as a sovereign nation.

The salient fact to be borne always in mind is that the Soviet Union is still the only country in the world without a stock exchange, operating in opposition to powerful American capitalism. Having little or no reliance upon the support of the European proletariat, she is forced into the field of power politics, and is determined as far as she can to secure her strategic boundaries against the threat of a Western onslaught.

This is the explanation of the struggle which is being waged at the Paris conference. There is no mystery about the Soviet Union's motives, any more than there is about that of Mr. Byrnes, who is but the mouthpiece of Wall Street. The support which "Socialist" Britain's delegate, Mr. Alexander, has given to the American arguments for "free enterprise" in the Danubian and Balkan countries can be explained by the fact that the Labor party has sold the future of Britain, lock, stock and

barrel, to the United States, in the hope that America will underwrite the remnants of the British Empire. Labor, having no distinct policy of its own, is, in effect, through its delegation at Paris, carrying out the policy laid down by Churchill in his Fulton speech.

Here was a glorious opportunity for the British Labor Government to have given an independent lead to the libertarian Socialist forces in Europe by offering an alternative policy to that of the Soviet Union on the one hand and America on the other. But instead, because of its adherence to empire, it has linked its fortunes with those of Yankee imperialism, and British Socialists must not be indignant if the Russians have taken up the challenge. At Paris there is neither idealism nor morality.

American Artist

(Continued from page 336)

clarinet joined to give a little excitement to the finish.

Gentle placed his horn on his lap, and wiped his forehead.

"I had it once," he muttered. "Nobody could tell now. I ain't got it no more."

He reached for the bottle. It was empty. He went to the bar. "Gimme a drink," he said. The bartender filled a glass. Gentle seized his wrist. "Let the bottle stay here." He threw a bill to the bar, and took two slugs in quick succession.

"What do you say, Charlie?" called Morison. "How about making another? We really swung that time!"

"You swung all right. Not me," said Gentle.

"Come on," pleaded Morison, "just one more."

Gentle wheeled around.

"Lay off me man!" he shouted. "What in hell you want from me? I ain't taking no more choruses! I been dead five years, just waitin' for them to bury me. I knew I was through, I knew it! I just didn't want to admit it to myself. Now what in hell did you have to come down from New York to prove it to me for? Where in hell was you ten years ago, when I had it, and I didn't have the price of a good meal, and my teeth went rotten? Where in hell was you then?" He passed Morison, and turned to the rest of us, glowering, his head tilted down, and his body swaying. "Now listen," he said, in a throaty voice, "you lay off me! Lemme be! I ain't takin' no more choruses on this goddam horn. I'm through with you, and I'm through with this horn, see?" He pressed his lips together, breathing hard, and turned again to Morison. "I don't need your lousy horn, see? I don't need it no more!"

He faced the door and flung the trumpet toward it with all his might. It sailed far wide of the mark, and crashed through a window pane. The sound of the shattering glass arrested him momentarily. Then he waved his arm drunkenly, staggered, and crumpled to the floor, unconscious.

I didn't see Gentle again. Morison and O'Neil carried him home. The following afternoon we left Athens.

Back in New York I didn't have the taste for rejoining a big band. When the Beach Club on Fifty-second Street asked me to organize a small group. I did so at once. Morison dropped into the club one morning after I'd been there a month. I asked him if he had heard anything further from Gentle. He had. Gentle had returned a check Morison sent him. Morison showed me the accompanying note:

"Mr. Morison. Dear Sir. I am sorry that I could not do nothin much for you. In the way of playin on the horn. Thanks for what you send me but rather not take it. Mr. Lebowitz give me back my job. So I'll be o k. Yrs truly. Chas. Gentle."

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(*Continued on page 350*)

NOTICE OF NOMINATIONS

The Nominating Committee met on September 27th and nominated the following persons for membership on the National Board of Directors for terms expiring December 31, 1949:

Hon. Arthur Capper
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Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
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Dr. Allen F. Jackson
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Theodore Spaulding
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Hon. Charles E. Toney
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Dr. Louis T. Wright
New York City

The new nominees for the Board in the above list are Dr. Nathan K. Christopher, President of the Cleveland, Ohio, Branch; Dr. George D. Flemmings, President of the Fort Worth, Texas, Branch; Mr. Eric Johnston of Washington, D. C., President of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association of America; and Mr. Philip Murray, President of the CIO, Washington, D. C.

The Association's Constitution provides:

"Independent nominations may be made by petitions signed by not less than thirty members of the Association in good standing by filing the same with the Secretary not later than November 1 of each year."

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(*Continued from page* 349)

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